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A CENTURY OF
THE UNIVERSAL SCHOOL



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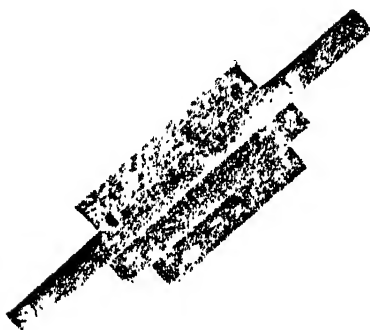
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FOUR LEADERS IN PROMOTING UNIVERSAL EDUCATION:
COMENIUS, PESTALOZZI, GRUNDTVIG, HORACE MANN.

A CENTURY OF THE UNIVERSAL SCHOOL

By

WILLIAM C. BAGLEY



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1937

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FOREWORD

The lecture which forms the nucleus of the present volume was delivered in the city of St. Louis on February 25, 1936. While this was only a matter of chance—for the annual dinner of Kappa Delta Pi is held in the city chosen for the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association—it was not at all unfit that a lecture dealing with the theme of this book should be given in a city the public schools of which have been outstanding for much more than a half century.

The high repute of St. Louis in the field of public education is due in part to the devotion to the educational ideals which the German immigrants, following the revolution of 1848, brought with them from the Fatherland, for they came at a time when the elementary schools of the German states were everywhere regarded as the best in the world, and they were immensely proud of the record. They came in such

numbers and of so marked a capacity for democratic leadership that they set the seal of educational idealism, the threatened destruction of which (among other things) had led them to leave their native soil, upon the development and destiny of their adopted city.¹

There was, however, an equally significant and probably a far more important factor in determining the unique status of St. Louis in the field of public education. In 1857, a Connecticut Yankee named William Torrey Harris became a teacher in the St. Louis public schools. Very soon he was made a grammar-school principal and later an assistant superintendent. In 1868 he became superintendent of schools. He held this office for twelve years, resigning to associate himself with Emerson and others in the Concord School of Philosophy. He left Concord in 1889 and shortly afterward became United States Commissioner of Education, a subordinate

¹ They even named one of the St. Louis streets after the Father of the Universal School, and the name is still there. It is related that a policeman (apparently from the Emerald Isle) was called to make a telephone report regarding a horse that had fallen dead in this particular street. He viewed the remains and looked at the sign, "Pestalozzi Street." He puzzled for a moment and then commanded a sufficient number of the onlookers to drag the carcass around the corner to a street the name of which was in his pronunciatory range.

governmental office which he distinguished by his services.

Harris was a philosopher—in fact the leading exponent of Hegelianism in America at this time. It was in St. Louis that Harris was converted to Hegelianism primarily through the influence of Henry C. Brokmeyer, a German émigré of colorful personality and quite remarkable mentality. Together, Brokmeyer and Harris founded the St. Louis Philosophical Society, which was a center of light and learning in the eighth decade of the nineteenth century. The *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, established in 1867, was continued in publication until 1893. It was the first philosophical periodical to be published in America, and was contributed to by several men, beginners at the time, who later became outstanding in the philosophical field. This list includes James, Dewey, Howison, Peirce, and Royce. I well remember as a college student picking up in the library a copy of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and reading its inspired and inspiring motto, "Philosophy can bake no bread but it can give us God, Freedom, and Immortality."

Harris was not an original thinker, but he left the impress of a great assimilative and interpretive mind upon the St. Louis school system. Probably the most important of his writings are not his philosophical essays, but his annual reports as superintendent of the schools of St. Louis. He read his philosophy into the schools of which he had charge.

The present writer speaks feelingly and (he thinks) advisedly upon this matter. He was one of the first persons to make the problems of the common schools—the problems of universal education—a field of specialized study leading to the doctor's degree. He did this after two years' experience in teaching in a one-teacher village school in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, a post that he had taken, for want of anything else, upon graduation from college in the midst of the economic depression of the middle 'nineties. He received the doctor's degree in experimental psychology from Cornell University in 1900, and at once sought a new opening in the public-school service. Application after application produced nothing more than good wishes. If he had not mentioned the fact that

he was a doctor of philosophy he would have had much better luck, as he was informed later. Finally, however, he found a city school system that was willing to risk itself with an elementary-school principal who had a doctor's degree. The St. Louis schools found for him a modest but most welcome appointment.

WILLIAM C. BAGLEY

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

This, the eighth, volume in the Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series is significant not only for its intrinsic worth as a panoramic historical sketch of common-school education but, especially, because the annual lecture of which the volume is a revised version was delivered during the celebration of the Society's twenty-fifth anniversary. It was peculiarly appropriate that Dr. Bagley as co-founder of the Society should appear as the Society's lecturer on this occasion. For more than a generation a courageous and critical champion of universal education as the firm foundation of national welfare, the author is noted here and abroad for his staunch support of the educational philosophy which exalts common-school education as the agency now universally employed for transmitting to the young the rich heritage of racial culture and directing the nation's children toward a mastery of the elements of the knowledge and skills essential to civic co-

operation. It was Dr. Bagley's concern for better informed and more professionally conscientious teachers that quickened his support of the founding of Kappa Delta Pi as an honor society in education with a co-educational membership and high intellectual attainments as its purpose.

A Century of the Universal School is first a succinct review of the rise and growth of universal education in Germany, France, Great Britain and her dominions, the Scandinavian countries, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, the Latin-American countries, and the United States up to 1900. Universal schooling is here viewed as essentially developed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with beginnings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author suggests that in the course of this development episodes and events of dramatic quality may be noted. A people's struggle for knowledge has so far failed to capture a playwright's imagination. It is a commanding theme for stage and screen.

Progress toward universal education since 1900 forms the second part of the author's review. Here are vivid, flash references to ele-

mentary education in the American Southland, Russia, Turkey, Mexico, the Baltic "Buffer" States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), China, Iraq, India, Netherlands India, and the Philippine Islands.

In Chapter III Dr. Bagley considers the, to him, most serious problem of American education today: how "to provide kinds of instruction that will make it socially profitable to keep in school the types of young people who, under a simpler form of social and economic life, would be wage-earners by the age of fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen." The problem is acutely serious because as the machine increasingly reduces the need of manual labor provision must be made for the upward expansion of universal education as a form of preparation for more technical occupations requiring "human judgment and human deliberation" and, especially, as a means of guarding young people from mischief-making idleness. Already enrollments at the secondary level have swollen beyond the strength of the high school to maintain high standards; in turn the quality of work in the elementary school is affected because all pupils must move on to

higher levels until the compulsory age limit has been reached. Consequently education on the secondary level "can be socially a very expensive and a relatively ineffective process." There is food for critical thought in the author's further comment: "Our elementary system is now so weak, due in part to the lowering of standards, that school children in other English-speaking countries, age for age, do far better than American children on achievement tests standardized in this country."

In answering the question, "Has Universal Education Meant Progress?" the author finds it safe to conclude that in such countries as England, Scotland, The Netherlands, and Scandinavia universal schooling has been instrumental in effecting desirable social change. The same appears to be true in France, Germany, and Japan.

It is true, however, as is shown in Chapter V, that universal education has not been altogether successful in promoting social welfare. It has not prevented war; it has not effected equitable distribution of economic resources by restraining unfair capitalistic control. Perhaps too much is

expected of universal education as one agency of human betterment. So far as control of public education by vested interests is concerned the author does not find such control widespread in the United States. In spots both capitalist and labor organizations have sought to influence the selection of educational content. The author insists that a nation's schools should be free from propaganda whatever its complexion may be. In the elementary school, especially, most of the time "should be devoted to giving the pupils instruction and training in matters that are not controversial but fundamental." He adds, loyal to his seasoned convictions: "This, of course, is rank heresy under the dominant theory of American education, which does not believe that there are any fundamentals or that there is anything in the nature of an eternal value, which should become an essential part in the education of the young." Dr. Bagley insists that American teachers enjoy far more freedom than do teachers abroad, except in Great Britain and her overseas dominions. Here is one treasure that should be protected from invading hosts of totalitarian state-slaves!

The reader will find in *A Century of the Universal School* a clear-eyed résumé of the historical development of universal education, a scholarly interpretation of its significance in the growth of national life, a critical but optimistic evaluation of its weaknesses, and throughout a reflection of the author's widely known championship of the common school as the inalienable right of all people regardless of race, creed, or color, to the end that under its direction they may know their cultural heritage and learn how to apply it to the promotion of their progressive welfare. The author and the Society, which he has adorned since its establishment in 1911, share alike in the educational philosophy which seeks to maintain and to advance freedom of speech, liberality of thought, devotion to scholarship, and loyalty to the high ideals of universal education.

ALFRED L. HALL-QUEST

EDITOR KAPPA DELTA PI LECTURE SERIES

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*An Address Given at the KAPPA DELTA PI
Anniversary Dinner the Twenty-fifth of Feb-
ruary, 1936.*

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CHAPTER I

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION TO 1900

THE school as such is a very old institution—as old, indeed, as civilization. As Isaiah Bowman has said, “. . . there could be no comprehensive organization and development of any part of mankind into a civilization without the power to measure and record.”¹ Writing, measurement, and computation are arts that must be mastered as such through the processes of formal education, and the school from the outset has been primarily concerned with the conservation of linguistic and numerical literacy.

The universal school and universal literacy, however, are very recent exemplars of social progress.² This paper is entitled *A Century of*

¹ Bowman, I.: *Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences*. New York, 1934, p. 40.

² Some of the earlier civilizations may have approached universal literacy; for example, the Abbasside Arabic civilization in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, A.D., and the Hebrew civilization in the period of its greatest brilliance.

the Universal School. In so far as this suggests that universal schooling is only one hundred years old the title is not literally accurate. Compulsory schooling was decreed by some of the German cities in the seventeenth century, and by some of the German states and by Scotland and Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In most of these instances, however, it is very doubtful that the laws were rigorously enforced. The fact that the German states were aroused by Fichte in 1808 to a full determination to establish a truly universal school suggests that the earlier efforts were only partially successful.

Indeed, Frederick the Great, autocratic ruler though he was, apparently could not enforce compulsory schooling in Prussia—for one reason, it has been rumored: while he bravely decreed that all teachers should be professionally trained, he insisted on having soldiers who were too old for military service round out their lives as schoolmasters, with results that were apparently not much to speak of educationally. It comes about, then, that the modern universal school in all civilized countries is essentially a

product of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Universal education in the modern meaning of the term has been closely bound up with three great movements in social evolution. The first of these was the Protestant Reformation. Luther and Melanchthon laid great stress upon universal literacy as a prime essential if everyone were to read and interpret the Bible for himself. While this religious sanction was moderately effective in encouraging schools in Protestant countries—in certain of the German states, for example, as well as in Scotland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and colonial New England—its success was far from complete. The second great force in the development of the universal school was the first Industrial Revolution. Power-driven machinery, the growth of urban populations, and the evolution of the factory system combined to make the demand for universal literacy far more compelling than were the religious sanctions of an earlier time. Along with this, of course, the third great movement in favor of the universal school was undergoing a marked development, namely,

political democracy, with its gradual extension of the suffrage and the consequent demand for an electorate of trained and informed intelligence.

THE GERMAN STATES AND PESTALOZZI

Important as have been the contributions of the Industrial Revolution and political democracy to the development of the universal school, however, it is well to note that the first really effective systems of modern universal schooling were organized among non-democratic peoples and at a time slightly preceding the appearance among these peoples of an industrialized society. It was Fichte, as we have said, who in his immortal "Addresses to the German People" convinced them and their rulers that the only hope of the German states in their exhaustion from the defeats of the Napoleonic wars lay in universal education. It was the practical idealism of a great educational reformer that made effective the fervor aroused by Fichte's eloquence. This man was Pestalozzi.

The history of education is sometimes re-

garded as a rather dull subject of study. Yet it is replete with dramatic episodes, and among the most dramatic is that which is associated with Pestalozzi's influence upon the universal school in Germany. The story that is told may be apocryphal in spots, but I believe that it is essentially correct. It seems that Pestalozzi, in one of the early years of the nineteenth century, thought of Napoleon (then near the height of his power) as most competent to put into effect the ideal of the universal school. He journeyed to Paris and sought an audience with the First Consul, who was soon to become Emperor of the French dominions. At Napoleon's headquarters Pestalozzi sent in his name and a brief statement of his message. After he had cooled his heels in the waiting room for some time, an answer was returned. It was brief and to the point, "I have no time to talk with schoolmasters."

As the story has it, Pestalozzi returned to his school at Burgdorf, and on hearing of his experience one of his friends said, "That was too bad for you, wasn't it?" To which Pestalozzi replied, "No; but it will be too bad for Napoleon!" And, if we substitute "France" for

“Napoleon,” that is one of the truest prophecies on record.

Unlike France the German states did turn to Pestalozzi for advice, and it was his practical idealism that determined the development of German education during a period that culminated in the decided predominance of German culture which marked the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, and in some measure the fourth quarter. In 1846, Friedrich A. W. Diesterweg, on the centennial of Pestalozzi's birth, made this statement:

While the best men in Prussia, after 1808, were laboring to effect a regeneration of their unfortunate country, King Frederick William the Third summoned C. A. Zeller, the pupil of Pestalozzi, to Königsberg with the commission of awakening the intellectual faculties of the people as the only dependence for the rescue of the country. The great Fichte had already drawn attention to Pestalozzi in his lectures and publications at Berlin. Afterward the eminent minister, Von Altenstein, sent some young men to Yverdon to be trained. By these means and by means of the numerous publications of Pestalozzi and his followers, with some help from the pressure of circumstances, the Prussian, or rather the Prussian-Pestalozzian, system was estab-

lished. For he is entitled to at least half the fame of the German common schools. Whatever of excellence or eminence they have, they really owe to no one but him. . . . His experiments have secured their world-wide fame to the German schools. . . .¹

In 1870, it will be recalled, another Napoleon ruled France—Napoleon the Third, sometimes referred to as Napoleon the Little. Wishing to make for himself a place in the sun, he declared on very slight pretext a war against Prussia. He was ignominiously defeated in short order by the first literate army that the world had ever known. When the Prussian commander, Count von Moltke, was asked to whom the victory should be credited, he did not mention his generals or his own strategy. He answered very simply, "The Prussian schoolmaster won the war." The first Napoleon's insolent rebuke to Pestalozzi could not have been more logically avenged. It is most unfortunate, of course, that, with the prestige earned in the Franco-Prussian War, Germany should have launched upon the imperialistic ambitions which led her to discard

¹ From an abridged translation, published in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, No. XI, December, 1857, pp. 353ff.

Pestalozzi's teachings and to direct elementary education toward purely chauvinistic ends, and ultimately to embrace the sublimely absurd racial theories which she is advancing today as a rationalization of the Hitler regime.

FRANCE

In Europe, outside of the German states, progress toward universal education varied. It seemed that France might be one of the early European countries to adopt the universal school, in spite of Napoleon's rebuff to Pestalozzi. In 1833, by the Guizot law, primary schools were available but attendance was not compulsory, and in 1840 Victor Cousin, who had been sent to study the schools of Germany, published his *Public Instruction in Germany*, which strongly recommended the adoption by France of the German system of universal education. The Falloux law of 1850, however, greatly weakened the schools established under the Guizot law. A heavy emphasis was placed upon religious education, and such fundamental subjects as arithmetic and history were made op-

tional. It is small wonder that illiteracy rates among the French soldiers at the time of the Franco-Prussian War were so high that the literate German soldiers found it easy to achieve a victory. In part as a result of the French defeat in the war and a recognition of what a literate army had meant to Prussia, elementary education was made universal in France in 1880. The laws of 1882 and 1886 completely laicized public education, but the religious orders were permitted to maintain their own schools. This privilege, however, was taken away by the law of 1904.

Gambetta, the real founder of the Third Republic, formulated his ideal of the French state in the phrase, "An Athenian democracy." In a quite real sense, the school system of France is a lengthened shadow of Gambetta. Even the elementary schools—the schools for the masses—reflect this ideal. Their program is limited in scope and it is uniform throughout the country, but with highly selected and well-trained teachers a relatively generous measure of fundamental culture is brought to each generation, with results that will be referred to later.

GREAT BRITAIN

England, like France, might have embraced the ideal of universal education at a relatively early date. A widespread interest in education was awakened by the development of industry and by the social unrest that followed the Napoleonic wars. By 1782 the expansion of the factory system and the consequent increase in child labor had led to the formation of the Sunday School Union. This organization promoted the establishment of schools which were in session on Sundays and sometimes also on Saturdays, and which combined secular with religious instruction.

In the later developments, especially during the early years of the nineteenth century, the proposals of Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell played a large part. Each of these men, apparently independently, had conceived of essentially the same scheme for providing relatively universal education on the basis of what we should call today cheap mass production. The plan was simple enough. A mature and presumably well-qualified teacher would be put in

charge of a school. He would train his first pupils up to a certain point. Then a second group of beginners would be admitted and these would be placed under the instruction of the first group, while the latter, in their spare time, would receive further instruction from the master. Since this process in theory could be repeated *ad infinitum*, many highly intelligent people sincerely believed that the problem of universal education could be solved at slight expense.

Whether fortunately or unfortunately, most of the virtues that may have been inherent in this "monitorial" system of instruction were pretty largely negated by the religious controversies which, in many of the countries at that period, complicated and delayed the development of the universal school. Efforts toward popular education in the Protestant countries had hitherto been the prerogative of the official state church. With the growth of nonconformist denominations, especially in England, the interests of education were overshadowed by the claims of rival denominations for control. Lancaster was a nonconformist; Bell was faithful to

the Established Church. The outcome of the controversy was not a single national system of schools. The Church of England organized under the National Society on an elaborate scale a system of elementary schools for the poorer classes, and for some time Andrew Bell directed this movement. Lancaster's work was continued by the British and Foreign Society. Although attendance was not compulsory these two groups of schools, aided to some extent by governmental grants-in-aid and supplemented by nonsectarian philanthropic enterprises, made notable progress in reducing illiteracy; yet in 1870 it was estimated that 1,500,000 children were not in school, or at least not in schools under government inspection. It was in this year that local school boards were authorized to compel attendance and to pay the school fees of poor children. In 1880, compulsory attendance was fully established.¹

¹ An interesting and almost forgotten "value" of literacy is revealed in the following comment on the situation in England toward the close of the fourteenth century: ". . . Few of the laity could read, and the law which existed in England till within the last twenty years [*i.e.*, until about 1830], by which the severity of the statutes against felony was modified by what was called 'benefit of clergy,' shows how gradually the ability to read was extended beyond the religious orders. In early times, clergymen claimed the privilege of being exempt in certain cases from punishment by secular judges. They appeared in clerical habits and claimed *privile-*

In Scotland the development of a national system of education was less difficult than in England, in part because in respect of religious faith the population was far more homogeneous, and in part because the people had fairly early acquired a deep respect for learning. In the last decade of the fifteenth century a royal decree required "all freeholders of substance" to send their heirs to school until they had "perfect Latin." It was the Protestant Reformation, however, that awakened the Scots to the need for a system of education that would be as far as possible universal. Under the leadership of John Knox a Latin school was attached to each church in a town "of any reputation," and in the rural areas each parish was to have a teacher of the "first rudiments." This was in 1650. Attendance upon these schools was not compulsory; schoolmasters gradually acquired a right to permanent tenure and in many cases

gium clericale. At length the ability to read was of itself considered sufficient to establish the privilege, and all offenders who claimed their 'clergy' had to read a passage from the Psalms, which came to be humourously called 'the neck verse.' This was no merely theoretical privilege, for the ability to read, absurd as it may appear, saved an offender in the first instance from the full penalty of his crime. . . ."—Unsigned article in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, No. XXV, June, 1861, p. 324.

they were so lazy that parents would not send their children to them; in general the effectiveness of the system was far from what it might have been. Apparently as a result of educational decadence, crime and poverty increased. State aid and governmental inspection were introduced in 1839, and these improved matters. In 1861 a law was passed which made the schools somewhat more independent of the church. In 1872 Scottish schools were placed under the control of elected school boards and compulsory attendance was decreed. Today the Scottish educational system ranks among the best in the world.

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THE BRITISH OVERSEAS DOMINIONS

Among the British overseas dominions—Canada, Newfoundland, the South African Union, Australia, and New Zealand—elementary education is free and compulsory, although only for the whites in South Africa. As early as 1844 Ontario placed her schools on a comprehensive basis. In 1891 the policy of free textbooks was established, only a few years after Massa-

chusetts had adopted the free textbook system, setting a precedent in the United States which the other commonwealths were slow in following. In Ontario elementary education was made compulsory in 1871. Quebec for many years trailed far behind the other Canadian provinces, largely because of bilingual and religious problems. It has, however, made notable progress in recent years. Newfoundland was long handicapped by religious difficulties, and since 1876 the government has aided four school systems—Church of England, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Salvation Army. In New Zealand each of the principal provinces established a school system between 1853 and 1876, when the provinces were federated. In 1877 elementary education was made free, compulsory, and secular.

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

SWEDEN

Sweden, the oldest existing state in Europe and next to Iceland and England the oldest parliamentary state, was one of the first coun-

tries to advance primary education to something approaching a universal basis in so far as concerns ability to read. In 1684 the government ordained that the rite of confirmation, which was necessary to marriage, could not be taken unless the curate was satisfied as to the ability to read upon the part of the applicant, whether man or woman, and “. . . up to 1822, the peasantry of Sweden was thought to be the most intelligent [enlightened] in Europe.”¹ Yet in 1850, some 130,000 children between ten and fourteen years old were reported as being “educated at home,” which probably meant in most cases only enough instruction to enable them to satisfy the curates of their literacy, and of 270,000 children of these ages reported as enrolled in primary schools 40 per cent were being taught in “ambulatory” schools which in the more remote regions provided short-term instruction by itinerant teachers. Sweden’s most significant development of the universal school began in 1872 with the enactment of a compulsory-schooling law.

¹ Barnard’s *American Journal of Education*, Vol. XVI, 1856, p. 639.

ICELAND

In the sense of possessing a great literature a knowledge and appreciation of which are widely diffused among the people, Iceland is one of the most highly civilized of all countries. In all probability since the invention of printing at least the literacy rate has been high. At the same time, organized formal education on the elementary level has not until recently been widely developed. Except in the few large towns, children have been taught to read at home by their parents or by visiting teachers. The latter institution, indeed, seems to have made an early start here as in the other Scandinavian countries.

The Icelandic language, which developed from the continental Scandinavian probably in the tenth century, has changed very little in the past millennium. As a consequence, even children, once they have learned to read, can enjoy keenly the great sagas which were written in the remote past.

NORWAY

In Norway a law enacted in 1739 ordained that the children of the peasantry should receive regular instruction in religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic. That this law was enforced in a way that would mean universal education is most doubtful. A law of 1827 authorized ambulatory schools in the remote districts. In 1848 a law was passed legalizing town schools. It was not until 1889 that a thoroughgoing system of universal compulsory education was established.

DENMARK AND GRUNDTVIG

In the fourth of the Scandinavian countries the universal school has had a most interesting history. Little Denmark in 1814 made education compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen, and at the same time opened five normal schools. In spite of this favorable start, it was apparently very difficult to enforce effectively the compulsory-schooling law. As in Germany, it took a national calamity to make the educational system truly effective. The War of 1848

was followed by the more disastrous War of 1864. In the hour of defeat the king and the people turned to one of the great educational leaders of modern times—Bishop Nikolai Frederick S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), whose service to Denmark was much like Pestalozzi's service to Germany. Thereafter Danish education was "universal, practical, and democratic."¹ Unlike Pestalozzi's influence on German education, Grundtvig's influence in Denmark not only remains to this day but has become more and more pervasive as the years have passed. It is primarily responsible for the fact that Denmark in all probability has today the most effective educational system in the world. The schools have literally transformed the Danish people. Grundtvig's teachings also have influenced powerfully the educational developments in Norway and Sweden.

Grundtvig is best known, of course, as the father of the famous Folk High Schools of Denmark. He was interested primarily in the life of the peasants, a life which in his day was

¹ Foght, H. W.: *Rural Denmark and Its Schools*. New York, 1915, p. 19.

drab and dull. It was his theory that the proper type of education could infuse a new spirit into the Danish folk life. He conceived of a school for young people (the Folk High School) which would be fundamentally cultural, although quite different from the secondary school of the time. The treasures of Scandinavian culture would be taught in such a way that the people would come to love and cherish them. He would emphasize what we now call the social studies, as well as philosophy and religion. Grundtvig was especially insistent that the teachers be able to use the "living word" fluently and with precision, although little of the instruction was given through formal lectures. Unlike Pestalozzi, Grundtvig did not himself put his educational theories into practice, but his spiritual leadership bore fruit in one of the most remarkable educational developments of modern times.¹

It is noteworthy that Grundtvig's name does not appear in the index of any of the standard histories of education in English that I have

¹ At the present time there are 60 Folk High Schools in Denmark, enrolling 6,600 students out of a total population of approximately 3,550,000.

seen. His remarkable services to education are eloquently described in the late Ross Finney's *A Sociological Philosophy of Education*. I quote the following passage:

During the half century just past the schools upon whose sacred altars this fire seems to have burned more brightly than perhaps anywhere else in the world are the Folk High Schools of Denmark. Visitors write of them with the utmost admiration; and immigrants who have attended them hold their memory as something almost sacred. The secret seems to be partly in the spirit of Bishop Grundtvig, which lives on in his disciples, the teachers, and partly in the spirit of the times and nation. Grundtvig conceived his great idea during the period of depression following the Napoleonic wars: it was essentially a faith in a new knowledge as a means of national rehabilitation. But it was not until after the disastrous war of 1864, when Denmark was crushed, humiliated, and helpless, that Grundtvig's idea took root in the minds of his disciples and of the Danish people generally. But then it was accepted as a great national faith; and that faith seems to have grown ever since, as it has demonstrated its validity. Hence the Danish youth go to schools in which the teachers are of idealistic temperament and consecration, and are imbued with a zealous faith in knowledge as the means of individual, social, and national salva-

tion. And the schools bring forth their fruit accordingly. . . .

The deepest necessity of American education is not a scientized technique, worthy and important as that is in its place, but something analogous to the spirit of Grundtvig and the Danish Folk High Schools. Our schools require a renewed faith in knowledge as the only means of a really satisfying life and permanently progressive society. Prerequisite to any such renaissance is a deep, urgent, and very contrite sense of need. And there is plenty of occasion for such a feeling if only we had spiritual and social insight enough to realize it. For, individually, which of us is happy—with the breakdown of religious beliefs and moral standards, with the disintegration of family and community life, with the rivalries of fashionable and fastidious living, and with the excitements of jazz and the bright midnight lights? And as for our social outlook, it is only a smug, blind ignorance which can fail to see that, collectively, we are entering upon the most problematical period in recorded history, to say the least. What will the end of the twentieth century bring forth, with the world populated to the saturation point, with wealth concentrated as the present trends suggest, and with the resultant class and international conflicts rampant? If a sense of need is requisite to a national craving for a new knowledge there is indeed plenty of occasion. The time is fully ripe, therefore, for a second Grundtvig, or for a whole school of minor prophets, who can

open our eyes to the fact that only in the popular distribution of knowledge is there dignity and worth of individual life, and a hopeful future for humanity. . . .¹

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FINLAND

Finland may well be discussed in connection with the Scandinavian countries. Although the Finns do not seem to be closely related ethnically to the Swedes, Finland for a long time was a province of Sweden and assimilated much of its culture. When Finland was ceded to Russia in 1808, it became a grand duchy with full autonomy in government. Whether because of the Scandinavian influence or because of some distinctively Finnish influence, Finland at the outset of the World War was easily the most highly literate division of the old Russian Empire.

In 1866 a law was passed requiring every urban community to establish a sufficient number of schools to provide primary instruction for all children between eight and fourteen. Many rural communities established such schools vol-

¹ Finney, R. L.: *A Sociological Philosophy of Education*. New York, 1928, pp. 552f.

untarily and all were required to do so in 1898. Elementary education was made compulsory some time before the War. In 1920 only 0.7 per cent of the population above the age of fifteen were illiterate.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands ordained free instruction in public schools in 1806, but effectiveness was handicapped by religious quarrels. In 1857 the public schools were completely secularized, but not until 1900 was elementary education made compulsory. In 1851 only 9 per cent of the population was enrolled in the public schools.¹ In 1857 this proportion had risen to 12 per cent. Today the people of the Netherlands are among the most enlightened in Europe.

SWITZERLAND

Free and compulsory education was provided for by the Swiss Federal Constitution in 1874, but much earlier than this schooling was com-

¹ Barnard, H.: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. I, No. 3, March, 1856, p. 401.

pulsory in all except the three most mountainous cantons. The development of the primary school dates from 1832 or 1833, following the overthrow of the old aristocratic oligarchies.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND COMENIUS

Czechoslovakia has the good fortune to have as its great national hero a man who ranks with Pestalozzi as one of the projectors of the universal school, although unlike Pestalozzi he did not live to see his dreams come true. Johann Amos Komensky—usually referred to in English writings by the Latin form, Comenius—was born in 1572 and lived to the ripe old age of ninety-eight. As a bishop of the Moravian Church, which broke from Rome long before the time of Martin Luther, he became profoundly interested in the possibilities of organized and directed education. He made numerous contributions to progress in school methods and materials, including the world's first illustrated schoolbook, *Orbis Pictus*. His plan for a national system of education included elementary schools in each community, secondary schools in larger

political units, and universities in the largest units. Comenius became well known in other countries, especially England and Sweden, and it used to be said that he was offered in 1654 the presidency of Harvard College.¹

Comenius became not only a tradition among the Czechs but also, as has been said, their great national hero.² The provision of educational opportunities was but an expression of their hero-worship. Before the World War, Bohemia was

¹ Cotton Mather, in his *History of Harvard College* (1702), made the following statement: "Mr. Henry Dunster continued the President of Harvard College until his unhappy Entanglement in the Snares of *Anabaptism*; filled the *Overseers* with uneasie Fears. . . . Which Uneasiness was at length so signified unto him, that on *October 24*, 1654, he presented unto the *Overseers* an Instrument under his Hands; wherein he Resigned his Presidentship, and they accepted his Resignation. That brave Old Man *Johannes Amos Comenius* the *Fame* of whose Worth hath been trumpettted as far as more than *Three Languages* (whereof everyone is *Endebted* unto his *Janua*) could carry it, was indeed agreed with all by our Mr. *Winthrop* in his Travels through the *Low Countries*, to come over into *New England* and Illuminate this *Colledge* and *country*, in the Quality of a *President*, which was now become vacant. But the solicitations of the *Swedish* Ambassador diverting him another way, that Incomparable *Moravian* became not an *American*."

This "invitation" from Harvard College seems to have no basis in fact. In a remarkable bit of historical criticism, Will S. Monroe (*Educational Review*, vol. xii, 1896, pp. 378ff.) assembles most convincing evidence that Cotton Mather was mistaken. A later publication, Young, R. F.: *Comenius in England*, Oxford and London, 1932, contains no reference to Cotton Mather, although several references are made to Harvard College, and to John Winthrop, the younger, and there are evidences of Comenius's interest in Harvard.

² Predominantly the Czechs are Roman Catholics. Yet their national hero was a Protestant bishop.

the most highly literate of the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the other two Czech provinces, Moravia and Silesia, were not far behind. I have had no opportunity to study Czechoslovakian schools outside of Prague, but in every school building that I visited in the capital there was either a picture or a bust or a full-length statue of Comenius. A prominent official in the Ministry of Education at Prague told me in 1925 that he had never known of an adult illiterate of normal mind in the three Czech provinces of the present Republic of Czechoslovakia.¹

JAPAN

Outside of northern and western Europe, North America, and the British overseas dominions in Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, the story of the universal school to the close of the nineteenth century can be told briefly. Easily the most important and dramatic element in

¹ It is also interesting to note that Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, all in all, perhaps, the noblest character brought into high relief by the World War, the founder of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and for seventeen years its highly successful President, was by profession a scholar and a teacher.

the story centers in Japan. Literate culture in Japan was apparently borrowed from China and Korea in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. After this time schools were developed for the higher social classes, the scions of which received free education of a high order. With the gradual adoption of Western customs, the need of a Western educational system came to be recognized. In 1871 a commission was sent to Europe and America to study the schools of the leading Western nations. This commission recommended that Japanese education be modeled on the French plan. Inasmuch as the existing schools were free to the upper classes, the new schools were made practically free to all. The present school system dates from 1900. It is secular and children must attend the elementary schools during the period of compulsory education which, since 1907, has been six years in duration.



THE LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

In the Latin-American countries little was done to promote universal education prior to the

twentieth century, although a valiant start was made in Argentina through the efforts of a most competent leader, Sarmiento, and in Uruguay through the efforts of Varela.¹ Both of these men were friends and admirers of Horace Mann, and in both Argentina and Uruguay graduates of American normal schools were employed to introduce American methods of teaching. The frequent changes in government which were characteristic of the Latin-American peoples throughout the nineteenth century prevented a sustained development of sound educational policies. Conditions have greatly improved since the turn of the century. Today primary schooling is compulsory in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. The interesting developments in Mexico will be referred to in a later section.

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THE UNITED STATES: HORACE MANN AND THOMAS JEFFERSON

We come finally to our own country. Here, too, really effective schooling on a universal

¹ Kandel, I. L.: *Essays in Comparative Education*. New York, 1930, p. 161.

basis is a product of the past century—indeed, of a period that is a bit short of a full century even in the most favored sections. Its history has been replete with dramatic incidents. Dr. Edgar W. Knight, of the University of North Carolina, was the first, I believe, to point to a very remarkable parallelism between periods of grave national crises and the beginnings of major educational advances. The development of the universal school in the German states following the disasters of the Napoleonic wars is a case in point. France did not establish an effective system of popular education until after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Denmark's educational awakening came in a period of national disaster. One of our own major educational developments had its effective beginning when, in the darkest hour of the Confederate War, President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act providing for the endowment of the land-grant colleges.

Our most important educational advances, however, have been associated not with war but with our major economic depressions. The first of these followed the financial panic of 1837.

It was in this same year that Horace Mann was appointed Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. It was during the six depression years following the panic that Mann instituted what is known in our educational history as the Common School Revival, as a result of which Massachusetts had in 1850 the best system of popular education on the Western continent and one of the best in the world. In a quite true sense, the universal school in the United States had its beginnings in the Common School Revival in New England.

It was, however, only a beginning. It was well beyond the middle of the century before elementary education could be called truly universal in the north central states,¹ while the

¹ Each of these states on its admission to the Union had already a stimulus for the development of common schools and, further than this, an endowment for their development, in the section of the Land Ordinance of 1785 which provided that one section (640 acres) out of every 36 sections (or out of every township) of what was then the Northwest Territory be set aside for the support of schools. Upon the admission of states carved from public lands outside of the area covered by the old Northwest Territory, Congress made a similar provision for common schools (and eventually much more generous provisions). Yet the schools developed very slowly. Indeed, except in favored localities neither the actual cash value nor the annual rental value of the "school lands" would go very far in the support even of a one-teacher school housed in a rude log cabin. Nor were grandiloquent constitutional mandates ordaining the establishment of schools any more effective than Federal land-grants. Indiana, admitted to the Union in 1816, made constitutional pro-

southern states lagged so far behind that, outside of the larger towns and cities, free schools even for the whites were not generally available prior to 1900.

Among the most important happenings of the Common School Revival was the establishment of the first tax-supported schools for the education of those teachers whose work would lie in the common schools. Normal schools had been developed on a generous scale in the German states in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and the pervasive influence of the universal school in Germany during the first three decades of the nineteenth century was due in large part to the fact that teachers were thoroughly prepared for the service which was delegated to them. Other north European countries followed the precedent set by Germany. The Netherlands, for example, opened a normal school as early as 1816; Denmark even earlier, in 1814. It was not until 1839, however, that the Massachusetts legislature authorized three

visions for an educational system as thoroughgoing as that proposed by Comenius two centuries before—and as thoroughly effective at the time as was that of Comenius in his time.

State normal schools, the first of which was opened at Lexington in 1839. In the following year, the legislature apparently regretted its action. Tax support for these schools seemed for some time to be doomed. It is significant that the efforts to disestablish these little and as yet unhoused professional schools should have been watched with intense interest by the friends of democracy in Europe.¹ Massachusetts was one of the first democratic states to decree that the efficiency of the universal school depended upon the efficiency of its teachers. In the *Edinburgh Review* George Combe, in reporting Horace Mann's success in saving the normal schools, said that if the bill abolishing the State board of education and the normal schools had passed the cause of democracy "would have received its worst setback since the atrocities of the French Revolution." Henry Barnard, at about the same time, stated publicly that the failure of Massachusetts at this juncture would have delayed the development of American education a half-century, if not longer. As has been sug-

¹ See Mangun, V. L.: *The American Normal School: Its Rise and Development in Massachusetts*. Baltimore, 1928, pp. 206ff.

gested, the history of education has not been without its dramatic episodes.

Linked with the name of Horace Mann as a great apostle of universal education in America is that of Thomas Jefferson. In the latter part of the War for Independence, Jefferson introduced in the Virginia Assembly a "Bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge." The plan resembled in some ways that which Comenius proposed for Bohemia in the preceding century, although there is no reason to believe that Jefferson was familiar with the writings of Comenius. According to Jefferson's plan, the State should develop a complete system of public elementary and intermediate schools and colleges, with a State university as its capstone. Jefferson for more than two-score years struggled to have the Assembly adopt his proposals. In 1818, with much opposition, a law was passed establishing the University of Virginia, "but provided only an ineffective, optional plan for elementary schools."¹

But if Virginia did not embrace completely

¹ Dabney, C. W.: *Universal Education in the South*. Chapel Hill, 1936, Vol. I, p. vii.

the educational plan of her distinguished son, other states did, and especially the states that were admitted to the Union after the adoption of the Constitution. "The typical American school system, like the ideal system described by Huxley, is a ladder with one end in the gutter and the other in the university." It was Thomas Jefferson who first visioned clearly this ideal and its significance, although Jefferson would have selected only the most competent for secondary and higher education.

The opening of the twentieth century, we may say by way of summary, found schooling of the elementary type essentially universal in Germany; in certain parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire (especially Austria and the Czech provinces); in Great Britain and the British overseas commonwealths; in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries; in Japan; and in the Northeastern, North Central, Mountain, and Pacific sections of the United States.

CHAPTER II

PROGRESS TOWARD UNIVERSAL EDUCATION SINCE 1900

A

IN TERMS of the magnitude of the populations involved, the universal school has probably made more substantial progress since 1900 than in any preceding period of similar length. The World War was responsible for much of this progress, but not for all.

THE SOUTHERN STATES

In the United States the turn of the century marked the beginning of a new era in public education in the South. A brilliant coterie of leaders, whose names should be enshrined upon the tablets of American history, were primarily responsible for this development. Among them were Edward A. Alderman, Charles B. Aycock,

Charles W. Dabney, Alexander Graham, Charles D. McIver, David B. Johnson, and J. Y. Joyner. In 1918 Mississippi passed a compulsory-schooling law—the last of the forty-eight states to adopt such a measure. One should add, however, that in many states, including those of the South, compulsory-schooling laws are not strictly enforced in the rural areas, and in the South particularly enforcement has been very lax in so far as the Negroes are concerned. None the less, by 1930 adult illiteracy among the native-born whites, taking the country as a whole, had been reduced to 1.5 per cent, and among the Negroes to 16.3 per cent.

Some of the southern states have made remarkable progress in recent decades. Maryland today is generally regarded as having one of the very best school systems in the country, and seems to have proceeded farther than any other state toward a solution of the rural-school problem. Prior to the depression following the panic of 1929, North Carolina made a unique contribution to the practice of State school administration and toward the solution of the teacher-salary problem. South Carolina has the distinction

of having a much larger proportion of college graduates among its elementary-school teachers than any other state. This has been due largely to the late David B. Johnson's farsightedness in the development of Winthrop College,¹ South Carolina's only teacher-training institution for women.

THE SOVIET UNION

The most astounding post-war development of the universal school is to be found in two countries that had been before the War among the most backward in the world—Russia and Turkey. The elementary schools of the Soviet Union were really started in 1920. For twelve years they were operated upon the basis of the most radical proposals of the Progressive school of educational theory. They were called “activity” schools. There were practically no textbooks. Learning was supposed to be motivated by the social problems of the day. Generally speaking, the teachers had no authority to main-

¹ A sketch of Johnson's early efforts will be found in Dabney, C. W.: *Universal Education in the South*. Chapel Hill, 1936, pp. 237ff.

tain discipline. In 1932 it was decreed that this theory be completely abandoned. "Systematic and sequential" learning based upon textbooks was to replace the more informal types of learning; teachers were authorized and empowered to prevent disorder; and a system of periodic formal examinations was instituted. The period of compulsory schooling was also lengthened. In 1932 to 1933, 98 per cent of the children between eight and seventeen were in school—a record to be envied by the most enlightened nations. For many years, too, systematic efforts have been made to reduce adult illiteracy.

TURKEY

In some ways, the educational and cultural development in Turkey has been even more remarkable than that in Russia. The schools were reorganized in 1926 soon after the revolution which rid Turkey of the Sultan and his harem. The blueprint for the development of schools was prepared by John Dewey, and the schools reflect Dr. Dewey's ideals, I believe, far more faithfully and certainly far more effectively

than did the schools of Russia prior to what the Soviet leaders refer to as the educational "revolution" of 1932 and 1933. Especially significant has been the provision of schools for adults in Turkey. When the Western alphabet was adopted in 1928, every person between the ages of fifteen and fifty who was unable to read and write was required to attend school six nights each week until he or she could qualify for the government's literacy certificate, and then to attend school six nights a week for a year to study the problems of civic education. As a result it is reported that the number of literate adults was trebled in five years. A large program of school building has been carried on year after year. In 1932 in the single province of which Smyrna is the capital 150 new schoolhouses were erected, and the program called for 150 in the year following. This, it may be remembered, was at a time when the richest country in the world was closing schools by the hundreds—and Turkey is still as poor as the proverbial Job's turkey. It is significant of the enlightenment of the Turkish government that Mustafa Kemal invited thirty-five Jewish professors exiled from

Germany at the beginning of the Hitler regime to take chairs in the University of Istanbul.

MEXICO

Another country which has witnessed a remarkable development of the universal school in the present century is Mexico. Here the growth of the movement has taken place almost entirely within the past twenty-five years—in other words, since the revolution of 1910. The most significant developments began in 1920 with the “new regime” of Obregon. The advice of John Dewey and the services of his followers were instrumental in the establishment of a system of rural village schools based upon the life and work of the local community. In these village schools there is no instruction in reading at first, the primary emphasis being laid upon health and community activities.

The rural schools are supported in the main by the Federal government, the measure of support being determined by the efforts of the local communities, which in any case must sup-

ply the buildings. The control is in the hands of the Federal authorities, a fact which has made possible the remarkable development under the inspiration of Gamio's idealism. The States support and control education in the towns and cities, and here in general these schools follow the European model.

Elementary education is still far from universal in Mexico, but progress is being made. Here as elsewhere the chief handicap is the lack of competent teachers for the rural schools.

In spreading the type of rural school developed by the Federal government and in improving the teachers a most significant institution has been organized. This is said by Professor Mabel Carney to be Mexico's unique contribution to the theory and practice of modern education. The reference is to the Cultural Missions, which date from 1923.

The Cultural Missions have some resemblance (especially in purpose) to the old teachers' institutes of the United States, but they seem to be vastly more effective and comprehensive, since they are directed to the improvement of the community as a whole through improve-

ment in health and play, work and leisure, as well as instruction. Each mission consists of a group of special workers who pass from community to community, remaining from three to six weeks in each and carrying on an intensive course of instruction, demonstration, and (particularly) inspiration.

The organization and conduct of the missions are well illustrated by the following excerpts from "The Cultural Missions in 1927," by Professor Rafael Ramirez:¹

The personnel of this [the second] Mission was definitely constituted as follows:

Director of the Mission and instructor in Methods of Teaching—Professor Rafael Ramirez

Instructor in Soapmaking and Perfumery—Professor Isaias Barcenas

Instructor in Tannery—Professor Rafael Rangel
Professor of Home Economics—Severa Quintana

Besides, two agricultural specialists had charge of the classes of agriculture, stock-raising, and apiculture, and a master carpenter directed the class in woodworking.

¹ *Official Report of the Secretariat of Education*. Mexico, D. F., 1927, pp. 21ff. (English translation, typewritten, pp. 4ff., on file in the Department of Rural Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.)

After three weeks of intensive work, after a brilliant exhibition, which was much visited, of the work that was done, and after a closing celebration attended by Dr. Bernado Gastelum in his capacity as General Agent of the Ministry of Federal Public Education, and Professor Roberto Medellin, Ranking Officer of the same department, the Mission returned to the capital of the Republic sure of having left a deep track in the social life of the city of Cuernavaca.

The courses of this Mission were attended not only by the Federal rural and primary teachers but also by all the teachers supported by the State government. Moreover, many persons of the general public, of both sexes, enrolled in all the classes which by their practical nature might be of immediate use to them.

Encouraged by the success attained in the two previous experiments the high authorities of the Ministry planned for the winter of that same year, 1924, similar work on a larger scale and of wider scope. Six Missions were organized, each composed of a director, a teacher of small industries, a teacher of music, one of physical education, a female teacher of home economics, a doctor for the instruction of hygiene and vaccination, and a competent instructor of methods of teaching so that the teachers gathered together to receive the courses might have an opportunity to see the theories exemplified in demonstration classes. . . .

THE BALTIC "BUFFER" STATES

Along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea the post-war treaties recognized three small "buffer" states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Here, prior to the World War, the people for centuries had been ruled successively and alternately by German barons and by Russia. At the close of the War they found themselves sovereign states. Among the first endeavors of the new governments was the establishment of systems of popular education, with the result that at the present writing (1936) illiteracy in all three countries is reported to have been entirely "liquidated" (to use the Soviet term).

CHINA

The high degree of literacy among Chinese scholars has been remarked upon by visitors from the Western world for a millennium or more. Movements toward popular education and the universal school, however, are to be dated from the establishment of the Republic in 1905, and had reached such proportions by 1923 that more than 1,000,000 pupils were en-

rolled in elementary schools. By 1930 this number had increased to nearly 11,000,000, but, in spite of the absolute growth, this is only 2.2 per cent of the estimated total population.

It would seem, then, that as yet the surface has hardly been scratched except in the larger towns and cities, and the bulk of the population is in the villages. Here the problem is being attacked in many ways, one of the most promising of which is a movement initiated in 1922 by Dr. Y. C. James Yen, who had been educated at Yale and Princeton. Yen was a welfare worker among the 200,000 Chinese laborers who were taken to France during the World War to work behind the lines. These men were tortured by their inability to communicate with their homes in China. Yen devised a system of teaching the most essential Chinese characters, and through this a very large number of the coolies learned to read and write in a remarkably short time.

Shortly after his return to China, Yen began a mass attack upon illiteracy and other social problems in one of the provinces of North China. His beginning was with adolescents,

training a large number in "people's schools." Many of these became teachers of children. The work is organized somewhat upon the Lancaster-Bell pupil-teacher plan, so that one teacher by first training a group up to a certain point can then bring in beginners who are instructed by the first-comers, who, in turn, continue to be instructed by the teacher. Thus it is said that one teacher is able to take charge of 200 children. Many other types of work are undertaken by the graduates of the schools established by Yen and his friends—hygienic improvement, agricultural improvement, what we should call social-settlement work, and the like.¹

IRAQ

Other backward countries have made notable progress toward universal education since the World War. In 1933 Mesopotamia, under the name of the Kingdom of Iraq, became a fully sovereign state after many years of a semi-sovereign status under a British mandate. It had

¹ Adapted from an apparently trustworthy report condensed from *The Living Age* and appearing in *The Readers' Digest*, June, 1936, pp. 95ff.

anticipated full sovereignty (which was provided for in the early treaties) by having a study made in 1932 of its educational problems by a commission under the chairmanship of Professor Paul Monroe. This commission made a report many of the recommendations of which are being carried out notwithstanding the fact that the political situation was seriously affected by the untimely death of King Feisal the First—especially untimely because of Feisal's pan-Arabic leadership.

Iraq has a very interesting and a very difficult educational problem, which centers in the village schools, especially in the villages that are formed when nomadic tribes find it necessary to settle down and practice small-scale farming. This necessity is increasing, for the automobile and the auto-truck are rapidly putting the camel out of business, and the breeding of camels for the caravan trade formed the principal source of livelihood for the nomads. The parts of Iraq that lie between the Tigris and the Euphrates are wonderfully fertile and can be irrigated easily. Old ditches, some of which date from Babylonian times, are being

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reopened and new ditches are under construction. In so far as material resources are concerned the problem of shifting a large proportion of the population to another occupation is simple enough, but not from the standpoint of psychology. When the nomads settle, the outstanding problem is an educational problem of the first magnitude. It is fundamentally a problem of changing some deep-seated mores, one of which is a traditional disdain for the farmer, and another a prejudice against the use of water for any except the most necessary purposes—among which personal cleanliness is not recognized. On the desert, where the nomads live in hair tents and move frequently, the prejudice against water may not do very much harm, but when they settle and live in mud huts the filth accumulates and high death-rates follow. The first problem of the universal school in the villages of Iraq is not to insure universal literacy, important as this is, but to teach mothers to take proper care of babies and to keep their homes clean, and to teach men to respect the work of farming. Literacy will follow in due course and is fundamentally important, for, unlike some

educationally backward countries, the Arabic language of the nomads is rich in literary materials of the highest significance. ✓

Another serious educational problem in Iraq illustrates very clearly how dangerous it is to assume that generalizations regarding human affairs can be applied to all peoples. We hear a great deal today about the importance of reducing the sentiments that attach to the idea of nationalism. But Iraq needs a healthy growth of the feeling of nationalism as much as she needs literacy. The loyalties of the people are tribal loyalties. Intertribal warfare has always been taken for granted among the nomads. It has persisted over the ages—and for a reason that is biologically sound. It is a means of keeping the population within the limits of a very precarious food-supply. When the tribes settle, however, a different situation develops; and yet, just as the powerful mores against the use of water persist, so the tribal loyalties and enmities persist, making very difficult the enforcement of law and order—making impossible, indeed, an effective national government on a democratic basis.

COLONIES OF THE COLONIAL POWERS

(I) INDIA

What have colonial powers done to promote the universal school in their colonies? We shall examine briefly three cases: British India, the Netherlands India, and the Philippines.

England's first and primary interest in Indian education was based upon the need for literate natives who would be competent to fill governmental posts. In 1832 a decree opened "all offices and positions to any Indian with the necessary qualifications and ability, and English education was expected to produce a hierarchy of capable Indian officers which should ultimately diminish the cost of administration."¹ The plan succeeded well—and ultimately far too well. English enterprises were growing, British territories were expanding rapidly, and there was a ready market for the services of well-educated natives. Before the close of the nineteenth century, however, a surplus of high-school and university graduates had piled up,

¹ Mayhew, A.: *The Education of India*, London, 1926, p. 13; quoted by Jivanayakam, D.: *Training Teachers for English Schools in Travancore*, New York, 1931, p. 8.

and at the same time an unfortunate tradition had developed, namely, that educated persons should work only in the professions or for the government. For one to direct one's education toward practical problems or for one through individual initiative and enterprise to carve for one's self an independent career in business or industry was unthinkable.¹

In the meantime England did little in the way of education for the villages of India, and in these villages live nine tenths of India's inhabitants and one sixth of the world's total population—in all 286,000,000 human beings.² Writing in 1926, Olcott³ says:

Because of the immensity of such difficulties and the insufficiency of wisely co-ordinated effort to overcome them, the actual results so far accomplished in village education have been pitifully inadequate in meeting the demands of the situation. Low-grade men, with little

¹ The same tradition has developed in other countries where native illiteracy is high. Nor is it confined to the literary and classical types of education. In Iraq, for example, the British authorities under the mandate established a school of engineering and a school of agriculture. Both were well patronized as long as the government jobs held out, but when the demand for trained engineers and trained agriculturists fell off the young men would not attend the schools. And this in a country of very rich natural resources that are literally crying out for development.

² Olcott, M.: *Village Schools and Teachers in India*. Calcutta, 1926, p. 1.

³ Olcott: *Op. cit.*, pp. 3f.

or no training, have been left in lonely hamlets almost without guidance, at one of the most baffling tasks in the world. The government educational departments have directed more money and attention to town education than to village primary education, for the town schools have been closer and more responsive. The original hope was that, after some Indians had received secondary and higher education, the effects of schooling would automatically filter down to the masses; but such has not been the case, for the academically trained men have prided themselves on their superiority in book knowledge and stayed in the more congenial surroundings of the towns. Almost as a matter of course, village primary schools have been inspected by a lower grade of men than have schools of any other kind. The educational efforts of Christian missions in the villages have often been directed toward having a large number of poor schools, rather than a smaller number of good institutions. However, outstanding progress has been made at Moga in the Punjab, and some other places. Other privately managed schools in the villages have usually been on a very flimsy basis.

Not only has actual accomplishment been small, but too little constructive planning on a broad scale has been done. Until very recently, the tendency has been to neglect and slight village education as something unworthy of respect and sacrifice. Government reports have scarcely dealt with it, except in connection with

primary education in general. Moreover, whatever valuable experience has been gained in one province or district has been very little known in other places; small use has been made of the principles of progressive education established by other countries. Some of the ideas that have spread widely have been hazy and untested. The most comprehensive statement of general principles and plans is the work of the Commission on Village Education in India.¹

It is doubtless true that substantial progress has been made since Olcott's book was published, and especially in adjusting the work of the village schools to the needs of the community, somewhat on the Mexican plan. In 1928-1929 the elementary schools of India enrolled 9,013,591 pupils; in 1932-1933 this number had increased by a half-million. The elementary-school enrollment, however, is still less than three per cent of the total population, or only slightly more than that of China—assuming the population-estimates for the latter country to be fairly trustworthy.

¹ The Commission was sent out by the Missionary Conference of Great Britain and Ireland and the Foreign Missionary Conference of North America. The report is of great value to all interested in this problem in India, and is frequently quoted.

(2) NETHERLANDS INDIA

With the exception of a short period of British occupancy Java has for three centuries or more been under the control of the Netherlands, although not under direct governmental control until 1848. It is still the chief colonial possession of the Netherlands and the principal source of its wealth.

Until the States General assumed direct control, the natives were almost entirely neglected. Since that time some attention has been given to native education, marked by periods of reaction and neglect. Since 1906 an effort has been made to have a graded elementary school within the reach of every hamlet. This policy has been extended to the other islands. In 1929 the government conducted in Netherlands India more than 12,000 village schools with an enrollment of nearly a million. In spite of these efforts, however, barely three per cent of the total population is enrolled in the elementary schools.

(3) THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The development of popular education in the Philippines differs essentially from the efforts of England in India and of the Netherlands in the East Indies. The report ¹ of the Board of Educational Survey of the Philippine Islands, published in 1925, opens as follows:

One of the most remarkable chapters in the history of education has been written since the opening of the twentieth century in the Philippine Islands. The student will scan the pages of history long before he will read of an adventure in human enlightenment more bold than that which has been undertaken in this oriental setting. Attribute it to the naïve faith of America in her own institutions and ideals, or to the wisdom of a farseeing statesmanship, the result remains the same. For twenty-five years these Islands have served as a laboratory for an educational experiment of enormous magnitude and complexity. To anyone interested in the technical problems of classroom instruction, in the general administration of education, in the relation of the school to social conditions, in the effects flowing from the contacts of diverse culture, in the more abstruse problems of the ethnologist, or in the wider human prob-

¹ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands.* Manila, 1925, p. 11.

lems of the adjustment of races this experiment will have deep significance.

The experiment has now been in progress for a quarter of a century. For almost a generation a school system patterned on the American plan and using English as its medium of instruction has been in operation. Through this system a Malay people which for more than three centuries lived under Spanish rule has been introduced to Anglo-Saxon institutions and civilization. Through this system an effort has been made to give a common language to more than ten millions of people, divided by barriers of dialect into numerous noncommunicating groups. Through this system teachers have sought to bring to the Orient the products of modern scientific thought. Through this system both American and Filipino educational leaders have hoped to prepare a whole people for self-government and for bearing the responsibilities of effective citizenship.

It will be noted that in the American development of education in the Philippines the English language from the outset has been the principal medium of instruction. In India both secondary and higher education from the outset used English as the medium of instruction. Lord Macaulay, who in the early part of the nineteenth century was the most powerful force

in setting the standards for education in India, urged "training up a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in opinions, morals, and intellect."¹ In his judgment, "A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." The development of elementary schools since 1883, however, has laid primary emphasis upon instruction in the vernacular. The same has been true in Netherlands India. The policy followed in the Philippines, then, is unique among the colonies of the Far East.² It is defended by the Board of Educational Survey as follows:

The Philippine situation is unique in three respects: First, in place of one language, there are numerous dialects. Second, there seems to be no immediate prospect of any one of the local dialects becoming supreme or driving out the other dialects. Third, there is little or no tendency toward building up a common language through a fusion of all or several of the dialects. Such a tendency may appear in time; but if so, several gen-

¹ Jivanayakam, D.: *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

² One of the early mistakes of the American educational administration was to have many American textbooks translated into Spanish, in ignorance of the fact that for the great majority of Filipinos Spanish was as much of a foreign language as English.

erations must elapse before one language can be produced. There exists in no one of the local dialects any great amount of cultural literature. If this be a debatable statement, at least it may be affirmed that there now exists in none of them a sufficient amount of teachable material to form the basis of a school system. To provide a sufficient amount for the primary grades would perhaps be possible in a few years' time. But there would still be wanting the great amount of supplementary material from which the child gets most of his education. Furthermore, the use of dialects would doom the child to a narrow environment which in most cases would restrict his thought and his life.

While the Report admits¹ that most of the children on leaving school do not have sufficient command of English to make it of practical value to them in adult life, the solution of the problem, in the judgment of the surveyors, lies in extending the length of school attendance. In spite of this and other handicaps, the growth of the schools has been impressive. In 1901, the first year for which data are available, 160,000 children were enrolled in schools of all grades; in 1911 the number had increased to more than 500,000; in 1925 the enrollment was in excess

¹ P. 45.

of 1,100,000;¹ and in 1930 slightly larger.² The elementary-school enrollment in 1930 was about ten per cent of the total population; hence, American efforts in the Philippines have been three times as successful in extending elementary education as have British efforts in India and the efforts of the Netherlands in its East Indian possessions. As a result of the Survey, too, the curriculum is now much better adapted to the needs of the children and of the local communities than was the case in the earlier years of American occupancy.

¹ Report of Survey, p. 14.

² *31st Annual Report of the Director of Education*. Manila, 1930, p. 106.

CHAPTER III

THE UPWARD EXPANSION OF THE UNIVERSAL SCHOOL

WE RETURN now to our own country and to a development of the universal school that is unprecedented in history and unparalleled elsewhere. Reference is made, of course, to the upward expansion of mass education in the United States since the turn of the century. Today in certain states and in many cities secondary education is as nearly universal as was elementary education a generation ago. When I was a high-school pupil in Detroit in 1890, a single central school building accommodating about 400 pupils was sufficient to supply high-school privileges for all who wished to secure them at public expense. A decade later Detroit had three large cosmopolitan high schools. The same growth characterized practically all of the

larger cities of the country. It is interesting to note that Dr. Knight's thesis is illustrated by this development, for the decade from 1890 to 1900 was marked by an economic depression of the first magnitude, beginning with the financial panic of 1893.

The upward expansion of universal education has brought with it some very complicated problems. As long as an educational system is highly selective—as long as it can reject those persons who are not adapted by nature or nurture or both to the program of studies that it offers and the methods of instruction that it employs—the life of the school and the work of the teachers may proceed pleasantly enough. When such a system becomes non-selective, however—when it admits and attempts to keep through its period of instruction all who come—the tasks of the teacher and the curriculum-maker become extremely difficult. It is, I think, significant that professorships of education in colleges and universities had only a slight beginning before the decade in which the high schools started their policy of non-selection. Professors of education came into being, so to speak, because of a de-

mand from the high schools that the colleges prepare teachers to teach groups of widely varying mentality.

By far the most serious problem of American education today, in my judgment, is to provide kinds of instruction that will make it socially profitable to keep in school the types of young people who, under a simpler form of social and economic life, would be wage-earners by the age of fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen. It is all very well to say that these persons should be in overalls and aprons doing the routine work of the world. But the routine work of the world is being done in larger and larger measure and with greater and greater efficiency by machine-slaves, in many cases automatically controlled. In fact, the development of these slaves has been a primary cause of the vast upward expansion of mass education in our country. The only occupations that grew in significant numbers during the third decade of the twentieth century were those in which the work could not be done by machines—those, in other words, which required either human service or human judgment and human deliberation. Education is be-

lieved to be the one means of developing these abilities; hence, with the increasing decline in occupational opportunities on the routine levels the enrollments in the secondary schools and colleges mounted conspicuously.

There are those who would curb this growth, but this seems impossible unless we go back to a simpler social order and scrap especially the automatic machine. The problem apparently is inescapable. And it is very serious, for with the upward expansion of the universal school to and through the secondary level standards have necessarily been relaxed and young people of superaverage ability suffer severely. The general situation is intensified by a parallel lowering of standards in the elementary school, with a strong tendency in many parts of the country to promote all pupils on schedule—with the result that, instead of having retarded children piling up in the middle grades we now have pupils essentially illiterate piling up in the high schools. Our national experience indicates that universal education on the secondary level can be socially a very expensive and a relatively ineffective process. Our elementary system is now

so weak, due in part to the lowering of standards, that school children in other English-speaking countries, age for age, do far better than American children on achievement tests standardized in this country.

It would seem an easy matter to solve this problem, yet of the many systems of catering to different mental abilities—such as homogeneous grouping, individual instruction, three-track plans, and the like—none is outstanding as a substitute for the traditional class with a first-rate teacher.

When we pass to other civilized countries, we must bear in mind that none of them has attempted to make secondary education universal, and consequently that the secondary school has been a selective institution in practically every case. With a single notable exception no one of them has permitted the elementary-school standards to fall so low as the standards of the American elementary school in general have fallen.

CHAPTER IV

HAS UNIVERSAL EDUCATION MEANT PROGRESS?

AS TO the probable results of mass education in other countries much could be said. One refers to "probable" results, because it is never safe to generalize in any field in which the human element enters as a factor, and *post-hoc-ergo-propter-hoc* arguments are always dangerous. However, when one looks at such countries as England, Scotland, and especially Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and compares them with what they were before the ferment of the universal school began to work, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that universal education has had very much to do in effecting the change. The general enlightenment of the masses in the Scandinavian countries is clearly traceable to the schools. All the countries just named have been peculiarly free

from internal dissensions involving violence. The crime ratios in the oldest of these countries are far below those that prevailed before the advent of universal education, and it is reasonable to believe that the school has been a factor in reducing crime and in developing a fundamental respect for law and order.

In France, where, as we have seen, universal elementary education dates from 1880, there has been a reduction not only of illiteracy but of serious crime and other social ills. The amount and character of the reading of the masses is clearly apparent from the statistics of book publication, and has been noted by several observers, including a distinguished American scholar who had the opportunity to compare the reading of the typical French soldier and the typical American soldier following the Armistice.¹ It is generally agreed by students of comparative education that the French school system is extremely effective in getting what it sets out to get, and particularly a mastery of the mother tongue. At

¹ The opinion cited is that of Professor John Erskine, of Columbia University, one of the three Americans in charge of the educational work with the American Expeditionary Forces after the Treaty of Versailles. The statement has been made with the courteous permission of Professor Erskine.

the same time the system has characteristics that would be highly disapproved by a majority of American educational leaders: extreme uniformity, for example, and a high degree of centralized control.

Reference has already been made to the probable effect of the universal school in Germany during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century, and to the unfortunate change in the ideals of elementary education that came about gradually but certainly with the development of imperialism. It is none the less true that, even under these conditions, the schools played an all-important part in giving to the German people and their armies the qualities which in the World War enabled them to stand out so long against the impact of numerically superior forces. During the era of the Republic the standards of elementary education were distinctly lowered and the discipline of the universal school was softened—some maintain with results that were a factor in bringing about the dictatorship. However true this may be, the Hitler regime is taking no chances. *Heil Führer!* is as fundamentally the slogan of the

educational forces as it is of the army and navy.

It is noteworthy that Germany and Austria are so far the only highly literate countries to give up parliamentary government and yield to dictators. This leads to the suggestion that universal education is probably essential to a democratic form of government when the franchise approaches universality, but that the universal school does not guarantee an effective democracy. The Poles and Czechs are neighbors and probably ethnically related. Illiterate Poland tried the parliamentarian form of government after the World War, but had to give it up and yield to a dictator; Czechoslovakia, with its traditions of Comenius, has been peaceful and prosperous under a Parliament.

Japan's school system has doubtless been a powerful factor in her development during the past two generations. Like France, Japan shows a high reading rate for the masses and her crime rates are relatively low. The Japanese immigrants to the United States are "among our most law-abiding" of all population groups.¹

¹ National [Wickersham] Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement: *Report on Crime and the Foreign Born*. Washington, 1931, p. 415.

Japan's schools are and have been turned to the preservation of Japanese supremacy; they deliberately teach children to respect their country and its institutions. We may disagree with the particular aims, but the school's work is clearly effective, and that is the theme of the present discussion. Japan got into trouble with Russia about thirty years ago. Its armies were victorious in a very short time. It is said that when the Russian prisoners were admitted to the Japanese prison camps, a search was made for a Russian who could read and write his own language, and if one was found he was made teacher over the rest.

CHAPTER V

SOME ALLEGED FAILURES OF UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

UNIVERSAL education has been criticized and even condemned for failing to do certain things—to prevent war, for example. Now I hope that the school will make every effort to show each generation the dangers and some of the horrors of armed conflict. But neither the school nor any other social influence will, in my judgment, abolish war until mankind reaches a point where national populations do not grow beyond certain limits. Wars have other causes, and these may be effectively dealt with by education, but the basic cause of war is overpopulation and the need of getting new sources of food supplies, or new markets for manufacture, or lands in which a country's

young people may find careers. This was Japan's motive for wishing to occupy Korea early in the present century, thus bringing on war with Russia; it was her motive in occupying Manchuria and forming the state of Manchukuo; it was her motive in the warlike conduct that has more recently occurred in western Manchuria.

Children may be taught many things that may help to reduce the number of wars. They can be taught that an insistence upon certain so-called rights when other countries are at war is likely to get our own country into the mess. Some would urge that pupils be taught that wars never accomplish anything; and this is all right if one has no compunction about teaching untruths. A. G. Keller states the case in this way:

That war has lasted on, as slavery did, is by reason of its historical actual utility. It has done things for society that nothing else could have done, for it has power. Its commanding function has been that of selector among the mores. War, ever the last resort in settling disputes, has always been effective. That point should not be allowed to escape. Things have not been the same afterward. The person who reiterates that

war accomplishes nothing does not know his history. . . .¹

Another criticism that has been made of the universal school in the United States is that it has failed to work for changes in the social order, chiefly for changes in the system of capitalism, many of which I believe to be inevitable. The discussion is somewhat beyond the point in so far as the lower schools are concerned, for the changes will doubtless be made before the children now in the lower schools become the dominant generation. These problems should be subjects of instruction and discussion in the later classes of the high school, in the college, in the junior college, and in the adult classes which are spreading so rapidly. (Indeed, the junior college and adult education may represent the type of educational progress that is coming out of the recent depression.)

By some of those who wish the schools to help change the social order it is proposed that the advantages of their particular changes should be stressed in comparison with the dis-

¹ Keller, A. G.: *Man's Rough Road*. New York and New Haven, 1932, p. 153. Quoted by courteous permission of the publishers.

advantages (if any) or the virtues (if any) in the older social order. In other words, it is proposed to indoctrinate the learner in favor of one side of a controversial issue. The alleged justification is stated to lie in the fact that the old order has already been abundantly indoctrinated and that the use of the schools for the advantage of the new order is only fair play.

My own opinion is that in the junior high school every side of a controversial issue that has a numerically respectable following should be given fair treatment by the teacher, and that in the senior high school, college, junior college, and adult classes representatives of the two (or several) sides should be encouraged to present their claims. In the elementary school, if questions come up regarding controversial issues, they should be answered as briefly and as fairly as possible. The bulk of the time, however, should be devoted to giving the pupils instruction and training in matters that are not controversial but fundamental. This, of course, is rank heresy under the dominant theory of American education, which does not believe that there are any fundamentals or that there is any-

thing in the nature of an eternal value which should become an essential part in the education of the young.

That the schools have been affected to an unwarranted degree by vested interests or other representatives of the capitalistic system is true in spots, but not to my knowledge on anything approaching a nationwide basis. Organized labor has certainly had a share of influence over school affairs which would tend in many cases to offset capitalistic influence. Generally speaking, it is the people through elected boards of education who have governed the schools—democratically if not always wisely. Many will remember what a furor there was when a congressional investigation proved that the Power Trust was attempting through educational institutions to indoctrinate an opposition against the public ownership of public utilities. There has been a very noisy resistance in some quarters against the teaching of the meaning of Communism in the schools. Of course, this should be resisted by the profession, not merely because it is an unwarranted invasion of freedom of teaching but because it is unfortunate for society to have a

generation not well instructed on this most interesting and important social movement. Incidentally, the teacher might well point out that there has never been a reasonably pure form of Communism, except among primitive peoples. The nomadic tribes of the deserts in Asia and Africa are essentially communistic, for Communism is a form of social and economic life well adapted to desert conditions. Russia is not fully communistic, however, and in many ways less so today than when the present government was established. The approach to the ideal of equal rewards for all workers at the outset was in a ratio of two to one—the highest paid workers received twice as much as the lowest paid. Today the ratio is ten to one, and for some workers—curiously enough, writers and artists—there is no limit to what one may earn.

All in all, American teachers have more freedom of teaching than do the teachers of any other country except Great Britain and her overseas dominions. The same is true generally of curriculum-makers and textbook writers. In preparing a series of textbooks in history for elementary schools I collaborated as junior author

with Charles A. Beard. Dr. Beard was never given by our publishers, or other "outside" interests, directions as to what to put into the books. I happened to be working on a revision of one of the books at the time when an ignorant and noisy mayor of Chicago charged that King George was bribing our schoolbook authors. It was "money from London," as reprehensible then as "money from Moscow" is now. I let it be known that the book was under revision for I thought it would be a noble gesture to show His Majesty's emissary the door, but whether or not the emissary got the word he did not put in an appearance. I may say that, with the exception of a section on the Socialist Party which prevented several adoptions just after the World War, the book has not, to my knowledge, led to any serious criticism regarding the views set forth, although Dr. Beard, as is well known, is a highly liberal thinker and a forceful and courageous writer.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

WE HAVE traced the development of universal education from its first really effective start in Germany to its recent establishment in such once backward countries as Russia, Turkey, Mexico, India, Netherlands India, the Philippines, and Iraq. We have followed the remarkable upward expansion of mass education in the United States and have outlined some of the difficult problems which this movement has brought with it; we have attempted to evaluate the results of the universal school in this country, in several countries of Europe, and in Japan; we have called attention to two serious criticisms of the universal school in so far as its results are concerned. Our conclusion is that it has been generally successful in realizing the purposes which control it, but that, like any other powerful

force, it can be used to further aims that many people believe to be reactionary or evil or both.

The relative inefficiency of the universal school in the United States and its apparently increasing ineffectiveness may well cause general concern. It should be pointed out, however, that the American school has not been a negative force. In so far as I can learn after many years' study of the problem, there is no causal relationship between the weakness of the schools and the prevalence of serious crime, the high divorce rates, and other unsavory characteristics of our civilization. The school has been affected by the same weakening forces that have permitted most Americans to remain unconcerned in the face of high crime ratios and serious political corruption; for example, the mores which protect extreme localism in the control of government and the mores which reflect an extreme individualism which has permitted grave abuses to creep into certain phases of business. There has been a most wholesome improvement in the administration of justice since the Federal government, through Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, demonstrated that criminals can be caught,

tried, and punished speedily and effectively. But there is still a strong prejudice against the centralization of authority and responsibility in the protection and advancement of the common good, as we recently witnessed and shall witness still more in the coming months.

Another vital factor in reducing the potential efficiency of the American public school has been the low standards of training for teachers that have prevailed until very recently. This situation, fortunately, is rapidly being corrected, but there remains a most unfortunate condition which makes for educational inefficiency; namely, the very great mobility of the teaching personnel. This is caused in part by the gross inequalities among American communities as to the ability to retain good teachers by paying them attractive wages, and the consequent migration of the better teachers toward the wealthier communities. Then, too, administration and supervision are far more generously rewarded than is classroom teaching, and the transfer of a teacher from the classroom to an office is regarded practically everywhere as a promotion. Another very serious handicap is the

custom of referring to the teacher in elementary and high schools always in the feminine gender—the teacher *she*. This makes the profession unattractive to men. Indeed, in no other country that I know of is the feminine pronoun used when the antecedent is “teacher” in a generic sense.

In so far as our own country is concerned an outstanding problem of the immediate future will be to correct the weaknesses due not so much to the deficient education of the teacher as to the impermanence of the teacher. This means inducing more men to enter and remain in the elementary- and high-school service. It means a continuous attack upon the rural-school problem to the end that our proud boast of equality of educational opportunity may become something more than the empty slogan that it is now in so many states. It means the framing of programs and curricula for the high schools that will be adjustable to the varying abilities of the heterogeneous groups now in attendance and so make high-school teaching something other than the nightmare that it now is in all too many cases.

As I have studied the problem of the universal school in countries ranging from the most backward to the most enlightened, I have gradually come to the conclusion that the problems confronting the teacher increase in difficulty as civilization advances. But I am not discouraged. From its inception the universal school has always been a challenge to our profession. The challenge increases in intensity as universality climbs up the age-scale. The situation now reflects a degree of difficulty and complexity that should stimulate the interest and the efforts of the most competent members of each generation.

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